847 To cause abortion, the root is mashed to obtain
278 the juice. The latter is strained and taken mixed in a liter of water. *Gobernadorcillo* is
[844] also taken to accelerate the birth if it should be slow.

One midwife purges barren women with the
842 bulb of the white lily. Two or three bulbs are
278 used; they are cooked and strained, and the juice given. Three days after the purge, the patient is bathed and "given a sweat" with cooking oil and ground salt rubbed all over the body. This cure is given during the time of menstruation to "clear" the blood. This cures the "coldnesses" of the patient or causes the harmful elements to be discharged. One patient now has four children. Another, barren 10 years before treatment, now has two children.

Involuntary abortions also occur. Pregnant
847 mothers are often fearful of this and sometimes will not go to curers when they are ill for fear they will be given a medicine which will cause abortion. A woman in her eighth month of pregnancy who was suffering fever and spitting blood refused to go to the curer for fear of being given abortive drugs. Drinking is believed to cause many abortions, and heavy work, such as lifting a log while helping to build a fence, is recognized as a possible cause of abortion. If the mother "likes something too much," for example, a horse or a kind of food, the child may be born prematurely, but apparently may live. Solar eclipses are likewise
[821] believed to cause early births. The midwife is sometimes called if abortion is feared. One midwife anoints the coccyx and abdomen with the white of an egg (which has been beaten on the ground) and also with lard and oil. Another midwife gives the flower of maize, tomato peel, a shoot of verbena, and a potsherd of Guadalajara ware. The potsherd is ground and the whole made into an infusion. This is taken twice and the coccyx and abdomen are rubbed with the white of an egg beaten on the ground.

Some people believe that the first child takes
843 9 months to mature, while the subsequent children take only 8 months. While women do not keep exact count of the period between menstruations, they have a pretty accurate idea of the proper interval, and pregnancy is recognized when menstruation fails to occur. Lassitude, heaviness, and loss of appetite are con-

845 Wrong positions, especially breech presentations, may result from several causes. The mother may have moved around too much and worked too hard, hit a dog with her foot, put the "foot" of a stick of wood in the fire first, failed to remove the *comal* from the fire immediately after finishing the cooking of tortillas, eaten toasted tortillas, or eaten off the metate (the latter taboo was explained on the basis that the metate has only three legs). Children are born blind only because "God wills it."

Witches may interfere with pregnancy and make the child arrive dead. The preventive [789] remedy is to cook tomato peeling and a potsherd of Guadalajara ware together and drink the liquid.

843 Fathers are also under some restrictions during the period of pregnancy. Whenever a load of wood is brought to the house it must be untied immediately or the child may be strangled by the umbilical cord. Also, the father must not kill lizards or snakes during the pregnancy, or touch resin or turpentine, or they will enter into the child. Some say the father should not kill any kind of an animal, from a snail to an ox. If he does so, the animal will enter into the child through the mouth or nose and the child will be born dead. One midwife thought the father should not have relations with his wife after the third or fourth month of pregnancy for reasons of cleanliness, but some say difficult birth or wrong positions may result from continued intercourse. The father should not work on the day of birth.

844 No distinction is made between first and subsequent births. Midwives varied in their ideas as to the frequency of births. Some believed [842] that women had children from 1 to 1½ years apart, others said from 8 months to 3 years. One midwife explained that the number of children and the frequency of births were determined by something resembling links in the uterus. These could be counted by the midwife, who could tell how many children the woman would have and, by the spacing, what the interval between births would be. Some women might be capable of as many as 25 pregnancies.

All births are attended by midwives, who form a professional group, although without

●844 organization. It is believed all the midwives in Cherán were interviewed by the staff. Most of them are elderly women past childbearing age. Some 4 or 5 years before the study, all of the midwives apparently had received instruction from a doctor called in by the priest. This is reflected to some extent in the methods used, particularly in some efforts at asepsis and the use of antiseptics. The following biographical data were secured from the midwives, the individuals being referred to by number.

No. 1. About 55 years of age; 4 years' experience. Formerly was a curer. No one in her family had been a midwife; she entered the profession "by accident" and "knew how" by the grace of the Holy Virgin.

No. 2. Age unknown, but has had 20 years' experience. Her mother was a midwife and urged her to become one also. She became a midwife because her small business was not enough to keep her alive. She had been married and had one daughter in 6 years of marriage, apparently taking up midwifery after loss of her husband.

No. 3. About 55 years of age, 4 years' experience. Learned by observing a grandmother who was a midwife. Other "grandparents" also tried to teach her. She believes, in addition, she possesses a special "virtue" for such work. Before becoming a midwife she was a curer, devoting herself especially to women who suffered abdominal pains from overwork, using massage. She still does curing, but since her husband died, 5 years before, has been a midwife. She likes the work. She says the Virgin of Monserrato is the patroness of the midwives.

No. 4. New to the profession. Has attended only two births; one of the patients accused her at the court of causing swelling of the organs because of inexperience and refused to pay her fee.

No. 5. Has been midwife 5 years. No further data.

No. 6. Has been a midwife 30 years. Was assistant to another midwife for a long time. One day a child was being born dead; the sub-
[845] ject took cotton and put a medicine she knew on the head of the mother and the child was born successfully. There was a quarrel, but finally
[578] the midwife, who was very old, began to teach

844 [578] her; "but God gave me the power to know medicines to aid births." Is from Nahautzen. Is scornful of the local midwives, and is sometimes called into consultation in cases of difficult births.

For other midwives, no personal data were secured.

Midwives receive a fee for each prenatal visit, as has been mentioned. For their aid at births, they receive from $1.50 to $2.50. One midwife charges $2 for a first birth, subsequent charges being $1.50. Sometimes the parents cannot pay even the $1.50, according to the [578] midwives, or do not pay for some time. Quarrels may result from failure to pay.

844 782 According to some midwives, if there is time, the midwife goes to church before the delivery, saying prayers to the Virgin of Guadalupe, Our Lady of Monserrato, and Santo Roberto, asking help. Others say this is not done because there is never time. Another carries with her a picture of Santa Rita de Imposible and says a 844 prayer to her just before the delivery. Mid- [751] wives do not bathe in advance, but some are careful to wash their hands in tepid water and rub them with *rafino*, considered an antiseptic, before the delivery. The midwife should not smoke or drink alcohol before the delivery. Midwives usually have as helper the mother or mother-in-law of the patient.

One midwife thought the mother should stay in bed for 1 to 3 days before the delivery, but others did not think so. Before going to bed, [782] a prayer to the Virgin is said by some mothers, promising to bring the child up correctly. Midwives also differed on the delivery position. One said the position is always flat in bed, the others said a kneeling position is common. One midwife said both positions are used "according to circumstances." The mother decides the position, not the midwife. If the birth is in kneeling position, the patient may hold on to the metate in the position assumed in grinding maize. Alternatively, two loops of rope may be suspended from a house beam by which the mother supports herself. Sometimes the husband is seated on a low chair and supports the patient's shoulders, applying pressure to the sides of the abdomen with his knees. Normally, however, men are not present.

844 Sometimes, when the pains first start, the patient is laid on a blanket which is then lifted by four persons, one at each corner. The mother is then turned around gently for 15 or 20 minutes. This is believed to hasten the birth and aid the child to get into the proper position. The midwife may also walk from one side to another, saying, "I am coming," to hurry the child.

Most midwives specify certain materials which should be provided by the family in advance. These things include scissors, cooking oil, lard, cotton, and silk thread. Parents provide clothing for the child; the midwife does not specify anything for the infant.

844 278 Some midwives, when the birth pains begin, give the mother *gobernadorcillo* or possibly other plants to accelerate the birth. In any case it is asserted that the same herbs believed to cause abortion are administered at this time, usually with sugar or brown sugar. One herb (unidentified) is called zihuapaxtle, a Nahua name. There is no use of wheat rust, however.

844 When the crown of the head of the child is visible, the midwife tries to hurry through the rest of the birth so that there will be less danger of the child being born dead.

It is said that many normal births take only about 15 minutes. This can hardly be counted from the time the first labor pains are felt but is possibly from the time the labor becomes intense. Many mothers in Cherán, however,

845 seem to have fairly difficult births. Cases of labor lasting as much as 6 or 7 hours are reported.

In case the labor is difficult and prolonged, remedies of various sorts are used. The helpers apply pressure to the abdomen. One midwife boils a bezoar, the calcareous secretion from the intestines of some ruminant, brought from the hot country, and has the patient drink the water. Another gives the mother hot chocolate made with water and sugar, and massages the abdomen. Another covers the patient with a blanket and has her breathe the fumes from sugar or some sweet thing burned in a brazier. One midwife stated that when the patient is very "dry," that is, there is no discharge of blood and no breaking of the amniotic membrane, a bit of *nopal* (prickly pear) leaf is roasted in

845 the fire, opened and rubbed with oil, and placed on the abdomen and coccyx of the patient.

Some midwives say the influence of the phases
821 of the moon determines the length of labor.
844 Eclipses also affect the labors. Witchcraft or improper care by the mother may be a cause of prolonged labor. If much silky white liquid is discharged in a difficult birth, it is said the mother did not bathe herself and keep clean or that she had relations with her husband after she should have ceased.

845 Breech presentations and other abnormal positions are known, although one midwife had not seen one in 5 years of practice. When they occur the midwife must be adept at manipulating the child. She puts lard on her hands and works the legs out first. The arms of the foetus must be kept at its sides and the chin down to prevent strangulation. According to one account of a breech presentation, several midwives were called in and an attempt was made to get the doctor from Paracho. One midwife (by her own account, at least) used a wooden bowl to distend the cervix, reached in and turned the child and delivered it successfully before the doctor arrived. In difficult births the child is sometimes born dead. The midwife touches his belly to see if he is still breathing; if he is, she lights a cigarette and puffs the smoke in his face "to wake him up."

Twins are relatively rare, but are known to a number of midwives, who do not report special trouble with them. One remarked that they came "like two cherries on branching
[144] stems." The Mongoloid spot is described as occurring occasionally.

Numerous abnormalities in birth are reported. Some are undoubtedly due to venereal
[753] diseases, about which the Cherán people know very little. Even our most sophisticated informant was a little dubious of just what gonorrhea and syphilis were. Some abnormalities, almost ceretainly due to syphilis, are attributed to the father having worked in turpentine. One midwife reported a case where the father persisted in working in turpentine, which foams when being boiled. When the child started to arrive, the mother nearly suffocated. All she could smell was turpentine. The child's arm emerged first; it was black and when the midwife touched it the skin broke and the

846 757 bathed the infected parts with *yerba de cáncer*. The entire herb was boiled and then hydrogen peroxide was added to the brew. Two treatments daily for 2 months finally cured the patient.

834 846 Husband and wife do not resume sexual relations until at least 35 days after the birth; in most cases the period is 40 days. Husbands are sometimes said to behave badly in connection with the first pregnancy; they have "whims" and "weariness," probably a polite way of saying that they resent the loss of sexual privileges and the lessened attentions of their wives. Some go with other women.

844 262 Shortly after the delivery the mother is given her first food. This may be chocolate, milk, and a bit of bread. Some midwives give the mother *rafino* or coffee but others prefer white atole "because it strengthens the blood." A chicken may be killed the same day and put on to cook to make broth to be served to the mother the following day. Oatmeal is also a favorite food for the mother in the early days. Broth from beef is prohibited but broth from mutton is permitted during the first week. The second week, additional foods may be taken, but nothing "cold." Tortillas may be eaten after the second day. In general, pork, chile, fish, and beans are forbidden for from 3 weeks to 40 days. Fruit and vegetable greens must be eaten sparingly in the latter part of the period, not at all in the early part. There is no restriction on salt. Beef is apparently forbidden only in the first week; cheese is mentioned as a permitted food by some. In some cases the mother is fed the atole known as kágwash kamáta for several days after birth. In view of the general agreement that chile is forbidden, probably this ingredient is left out when the atole is made for mothers. According to some, the midwife stays on the same diet as the mother until the time of the mother's first bath.

844 Fathers have virtually no restrictions. The only one discovered is that he should not kill poisonous snakes. If he does, the newborn infant may have bloody discharges from nose and mouth. The cure is to catch a rat, remove the intestines, add to them some *rosas de castilla* and a few grains of *tequisquite* and place on the child's stomach.

844 According to Rendón, women in Mestizo Chilchota observe no special diet before delivery.
846 Births are attended by midwives, who charge
262 $2. A mixture of egg and flower is sometimes rubbed on the abdomen to lessen labor pains if these are severe. Massage and irrigations with water and soap are used to accelerate birth. After delivery the diet is based on chocolate and atole. After a few days, chicken broth and chicken are added but beef and beans are not eaten for 72 days. The atole is called púɛkua and is made of maize cooked without lime, ground on the metate, and cooked in water without sugar. If there are hemorrhages the patient is given rubbed (shredded?) parsley in water. The mother stays in bed for a week. On the eighth day she bathes.

846 Rendón reports a mild couvade in La Cañada pueblos. The mother does not eat salt after the birth, eats atole of the same type as at Chilchota, and cooked greens. The fathers stay in the house several days without working.

INFANCY

844 When the birth is in kneeling position, as is most common, a mat and clean cloth are placed on the floor to receive the child. The cord is not cut until the afterbirth is delivered. If this is slow, the mother's knees are massaged. The cord is then tied with thread and cut with scissors (a knife may not be used). According to some the cord is cut about a span length from the umbilicus (thumb to forefinger with both extended). Others say this is the length for girls and that the length for boys is a *cuarto* (this cannot mean a quarter as most are agreed that the length for a boy is greater than for a girl). Some families ask that the cord be cut longer "so the child will relax easily." Cotton is applied, sometimes preceded by anointment with oil, and a band fastened about the abdomen. Some say if this is not done the boys would not have strength and the girls would be "goers," *andulantes*, that is, they would probably have affairs with men. Some wipe out the child's eyes with cotton, and others drop a little lemon juice in the eyes. Some oppose this and do nothing unless a gummy secretion appears, when the eyes are treated with flowers of Castile and San Juan.

844 The child is then wiped off with a clean cloth and oiled but not bathed. Clothing prepared in advance is put on the child. It is said that the midwife tells parents in advance whether to prepare clothing for a boy or a girl and that they seldom make a mistake. But as no difference could be found in the clothing and, indeed, the child is usually wrapped just in some clean rags, the statement has little significance. Sometimes the child is given tea of Castile roses or a bit of edible oil, but most midwives thought nothing should be given the first day.

853 The child is nursed the second day. Rarely does the mother not have milk. Should this happen, the aid of some nursing mother is sought or the child is given cow or goat milk. The latter is not diluted, but it is boiled before using, often being flavored with a bit of yerba buena or cinnamon. Special drinks are given the mother to induce milk flow if it is inadequate. Brews of flaxseed (?) were mentioned.

844 The afterbirth is buried, sometimes beside the fireplace, sometimes under it. If this is not done, it is believed the mother would become "cold," but one midwife stated the cord is preserved and used for remedies. The cord of Agustín Rangel's father was taken to the shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe at Tepeyac and left.

846 Midwives continue to visit the house to attend to the mother and child. The bandage over the umbilicus is removed every 2 or 3 days. The cord drops off between the second and eighth days (the longer period apparently being unusual). The umbilicus is then anointed with iodine or powder made from tules. Sometimes small hernias are cured with a small ball of sosa (an herb) or a green tomato. Hernias result from carelessness or "coldness." Infections of the umbilicus result from carelessness in bathing the child. One midwife reported curing them with face powder!

The child is normally bathed by the midwife on the third, sixth, and ninth days (according to one midwife, immediately after birth also "if that is the custom of the house"). Warm water is used for the bath.

827 143 Some idea that children resemble parents seems to be prevalent and to be attributed to hereditary mechanisms (although in this informants may have been sophisticated). An instance cited was that of a man with a very